

Barretto de Resende's Account of Malacca.

BY W. GEORGE MAXWELL.

Manuscript No. 197 of the Sloane collection of manuscripts in the British Museum is Barretto de Resende's "Livro do Estado da India Oriental." The manuscript, which has not yet been published or translated, is divided into three parts. The first contains portraits of all the Portuguese Viceroy's from Francisco de Almeyda, the first Viceroy, to Dom Miguel de Noronha, the 44th, in A.D. 1634, with an account of the Government of each Viceroy.

The second part contains "the plans of the fortresses from the "Cape of Good Hope to the fort Chaul, with a detailed "description of all that is to be found in the said fortresses, "the receipts and expenses of each and everything that concerns "them." In this part are a plan and description of the fortress of Sofala, a map and description of the rivers of Cuama, a description of the Islands of Angoxa; plans and descriptions of the fortresses of Mozambique, Mombassa, Curiate,* Mascate, Matara, Sibó,§ Borea,§ Soar, Quelba,§ Corfacam, Libidia, Mada,§, Dubo-doba and Mocomlim: a plan of the fortress of Ormus,* a description of the Congo; plans and descriptions of Bassora*, and the Island of Baren; descriptions of Sinde* and the "Kingdom of Cacha and Magana;" plans and descriptions of the fortress of Dio, Suratte, Damas, Samgens, Danu, Trapor, Maim, Agassym, Manora, Mount Aserim and Bassaym; descriptions of the Fort of Saybana, the Fort of Corangangens, Tana and its bastions, Mombayon and Caranya, and plans and descriptions of the mole of Chaul and of Chaul.*

The third part of the book contains "the plans of all the "fortresses from Goa to China with a similar description and "contains also plans of other fortresses not belonging to the "State, they being included as being situated on these coasts and "being of interest." In this part are plans and descriptions of "the lands and forts of Bardes", Goa, Rachol, Salsete, Onor, Cambolim, Barselor, Mangallor, Cananor, Cunhalle and Cranganor; a description of Balliporto; plans and descriptions of Cochim, Conlam, Negapatam, San Thome, "the Dutch town of Palleacate", Pulikat and the Island and Fortress of Manar; a plan of the island of Ceylon; plans and descriptions of the fortress of Jafnapatam, Colombo, Calleture, Negumbo, Gualle, Batecalou and Triquilimale;

* The accounts of these places will be found (in Portuguese) in the appendix to the fourth volume of the Hakluyt Society's Commentaries of Afonso Dalboquerque.

§ Notes on the plans of these fortresses state that they were demolished and abandoned as being of no use after the book was written.

a plan of the Maldivé Islands; a plan and description of the fortress of Malacca; plans of the isle and fort of Achem, "the Dutch fortress of Jacatra" (the site of the present city of Batavia), the Malucco Islands and the Banda Islands; plans and descriptions of the Solor Islands and the town of Machao; and plans of the Island of Formosa and the Island and Province of Manilla. It concludes with notes on the size and extent of various islands.

The manuscript, which consists of 412 folios, sets forth on its first page that it was written by "Captain Pedro Barretto de Resende, Professed Knight of the Order of St. Benedict of Avis", native of Pavia, in the year 1646."

Writing in Kedah, I regret to be unable to obtain any account of de Resende's life.

With two or three exceptions the plans are all coloured, and in addition to them the manuscript contains eight pen and ink charts signed:—

"Petrus Berthelot primum cosmographicum indicorum imperium faciebat anno domini 1635."

Berthelot was born in Honfleur in A.D. 1600. He was for some time a pirate, and then became a barefooted Carmelite monk. He went to Goa, and in 1629 was appointed first pilot to a Portuguese fleet sent to defend Malacca against the attack of the King of Acheen.

He greatly distinguished himself and was given the appointment of Cosmographer Royal of the Indies. After this he made a number of voyages and prepared charts of the coasts he visited.‡ He fell in a massacre, in which the Portuguese ambassador was also killed, at Acheen on the 27th November 1638.*

It would appear that the date, A.D. 1646, given by de Resende to his work is that of a year some years after the date of its having been written. The list of viceroys only goes down to 1638. Malacca is written of as a Portuguese possession, whereas it had been surrendered to the Dutch on the 14th January, 1641. There are notes on some of the plans (referred to above) to say that the fortresses of which plans are given had been demolished and abandoned "after the book was written." Lastly Berthelot the cosmographer was murdered in A.D. 1635, or 1638. The probabilities would therefore appear to be that the account of Malacca was written at least before 1638.

* A military order of Cistercians in Portugal instituted by King Alphonso I, in the middle of the twelfth century, to commemorate the capture of Evora from the Moors.

‡ An account of Berthelot will be found in the Manuel de Bibliographie Normande—Vol I p. 336. (Frère, Paris 1850—1860); cited in the commentaries of Afonso Dalboquerque (Hakluyt Society) Vol 2—Introduction page CXXI.

* The date of this Massacre is given in Marsden's History of Sumatra (page 362) as 1635. 1638 is perhaps a misprint in the Hakluyt Society's volume.

Of the plans, charts, and portraits with which Barretto de Resende's manuscript is embellished, six have been reproduced in the Hakluyt Society's edition of the Commentaries of Afonso Dalboquerque. They are:—

The map of Arabia	in Vol: I. p. 80
The plan of Ormus	„ p. 112
The portrait of D. Francisco Dalmeida	„ II. p. 48
The chart of Goa	„ p. 88
The plan of the fortress of Malacca	„ III. p. 137
The portrait of Diogo Lopes de Sequeira	„ p. 254

Gohindo de Eredia's account of Malacca—the *Declaracam de Malaca e India Meridional* dated A.D. 1613, and translated into French by Janssen in A.D. 1882, is the best known Portuguese work on Malacca, and as a comparison of his account and as Resende's account is interesting, give in an appendix a translation of de Eredia's first and fifteenth chapters entitled "Regarding the city of Malaca" and "Regarding Gunoledam" respectively. I have translated them from Janssen's French, and not from the original Portuguese.

Description of the Fortress of Malacca.

The fortress of Malacca is situated on the east coast of Juntana¹ between the River Panagim² and Muar 2° 20' N. lat. folio 383.

It was conquered and founded by the great Alfonso de Albuquerque on the 15th of August 1511. At the present day it is a city, containing a fortress, and surrounded by a stone and mortar wall twenty feet high, twelve palms thick at the foot and seven at the top.

It contains six bastions, including the breastwork (couraça), each one called by the name written on it. All the walls have parapets, and each bastion occupies a space of twenty paces and the one named Madre de Deos double that space, so that it can scarcely be defended and covered by the other bastions. The circumference of the whole wall is five hundred and twelve paces, including the space occupied by the bastions. From the bastion de Ospital to that of St. Dominic there is a counterscarp, as also from that of Sanctiago to Madre de Deos, with a ditch in the centre, the whole being fourteen palms wide. The bastions contain forty-one pieces of artillery of twelve to forty-four pounds iron shot. All are of bronze, with the exception of nine iron pieces, and there is sufficient powder and ammunition in His Majesty's magazines for their supply. Twelve of the big pieces lie unmounted on the plain, destined for the fort in process of building on the Ilha das Naos, and some of the remainder are broken.

There are in the town two hundred and fifty married whites³ who would possess two thousand black captives of different races, all competent to carry arms, of which there is a sufficient supply; as rarely is a married man without his supply of lances, and six, eight or ten muskets or flintlocks, with their ammunition. However of these two hundred and fifty married white men, one hundred live on the other side of the river which gives its name to the land of Malacca.

With regard to the small space within the walls it is almost entirely covered by three convents, that of St. Paul, St. Dominic and St. Augustin; and the aforesaid married couples live in straw huts,⁴ so that there is a great risk of fire. There are in this place a number of fruit gardens and orchards of varied fruits. A number of married native Christians live outside Malacca, they are all very good soldiers, and use all kinds of arms, especially muskets, in the use of which they are very skilful. In times of war they are very ready and active: the majority of them seek a means of livelihood. They are so hasty, for very little they will run a man through the belly with a *cris*, and there is little, if any, cure for the wound, since these weapons, apart from being generally poisoned,⁵ are so fashioned, in an undulating shape, as to cause great injury: if the weapon is poisoned, it is only necessary to draw blood to cause death.

folio 383b.

The fort within this town where the Captain resides is five stories high; the captain lives on the second storey, which is square like the tower, each wall being twenty paces wide. The other apartments are set apart for the Captain's guests, and for storing ammunition. On the first floor four thousand candies⁶ of rice were stored, but are no longer there. It is surrounded by a wall of the same height and thickness as that of the town. The Captain's family lives in houses on a level with the second storey of the tower. The only artillery is that of the bastions already referred to. The town receives a duty of one per cent applicable to the works of fortification, of which those of the wall are now being completed.

The king of the interior of that country where the fortress of Malacca is situated is the King of Jor⁷ and Pam,⁸ a great friend of the Portuguese. He is lord of more than one hundred leagues of coast, but his lands do not extend far inland: at sea he also possesses a chain of islands situated in this vicinity, the majority being inhabited. The people are Malays, and profess the creed of the Moors. They can put twelve thousand men of arms into the field; they fight with artillery, muskets, assegays,⁹ saligas,¹⁰ or darts of fire-hardened wood, swords, shields, bows and arrows,¹¹ crises beforementioned, and sumpitans¹² or very small poisoned arrows, which they blow through tubes, and if they draw blood death will ensue. There is no Christian Settlement in their lands. Up the river beyond Malacca, the married men own many very fertile orchards, with a great variety of fruit, as the land produces

very good fruit of many kinds, besides all those to be found in India, and it is remarkable that the town, though nearly below the line, has a salubrious climate¹³ and excellent water, the soil being fertile for any seed that is sown: it rains nearly every day and night. The married men of Malacca possess many leagues of land, extending on one side as far as Cape Rachado and on the other to River Fermoza¹⁴ and also many leagues in the interior, but all uninhabited with none to cultivate the land, though it is fertile and would yield much rice. Inland the land borders on that of the Manamcabos,¹⁵ Moors of a land called Rindo,¹⁶ vassals of the King of Pam, and, close by live five or six thousand of the same Manamcabo Moors, vassals of His Majesty, under the Government of a Portuguese married man of Malacca called Tamungam,¹⁷ an office conferred by the Viceroy. To him they owe obedience and should one of these Moors die without heirs, the said Tamungam inherits his property, and if there are heirs he makes an agreement with them and receives ten per cent upon such goods as he thinks fit. At the present day a Portuguese holds the office for life. These Moors cultivate extensive lands by which they maintain themselves. They especially cultivate the betre.¹⁸ They purchase tin¹⁹ from the inhabitants of the interior and bring it to Malacca. The river of this city, and the port of Malacca is of fresh water and is a stone's throw in width. At low tide the bar has a palm and a half of water, and in conjunction with the fresh water there is four fingers of water only, which barely covers the mud which forms the bottom. At high water there is one fathom four palms of fresh water and five or six palms of salt. At a little distance from its mouth the river becomes narrower, and is three or four fathoms deep; and in some parts there is always one fathom whether at high or low tide. There are many large carnivorous alligators, for which reason, and because of the mud, it cannot be forded. Along the river and inland there are many orchards belonging both to the married Portuguese and the natives: the men live here with their families cultivating the land to great profit. There are many tigers²⁰ which before they were exorcised by a bishop were very fierce, but are now less so. All these married men have their weapons. Half a league up the river a log of wood is thrown across the water at night, the chain being padlocked to a sentry-box where stands a Portuguese provided by the city, which pays him six cruzados²¹ a month. This is to prevent any forbidden merchandise being smuggled out or in from the large vessels lying at anchor beyond the Ilha das Naos. For the same reason, order has been given to build a fort on the said island, which does not actually face the city, but lies a little lower down at a distance of one thousand five hundred paces from it. The channel in between is small and not navigable to large ships at low tide: the water is very shallow, and the bottom is of mud. Further out to sea, lies another sand-bank, and, between it and the island, is a channel six fathoms deep. The island is nearly the shape of a

folio 384.

horseshoe, and is sixty *bracas* in circumference, its length is one and a half times greater than its width. It contains a mountain four or five *bracas* in height.

The fort which is being built here, for the foundations are already laid, is small, being thirty paces square. It is to be square, to allow space for the artillery to be separated. Its purpose is to defend the large vessels which cannot lie under the artillery of the fortress. As yet only the foundations are laid; the materials are being gathered together at Malacca so that the whole building may be finished at once, because if it were built gradually it might fall into the hands of the enemy and, once occupied by them, it would be a great danger to Malacca.

The bridge shown in the plan has two abutments, each one being two and a half *bracas* in height, and the same in length and very narrow, so that there is no danger, as has been suggested, of them affording the means of an attack upon Malacca. The bridge above them is composed of large strong planks, which can be cut down when necessary.

Fifty to sixty soldiers are drawn from the garrison every year to equip a fleet of three, four or five *jaleas*²² to cruise along the coast. They set sail in May for Pulopinam²³ or whatever place is decided on, to await the ships from Goa, to inform them of the position of the enemy and to assist in discharging the cargo. In September they go to Junsalam²⁴ to await those from Negapatam, St. Thome and also from Goa; and in December they go to the Straits of Singapore to await those from China and Manila for the same purpose.

The Captain Major receives an allowance of one hundred cruzados, but the soldiers and the captains of the *jaleas* receive nothing whatever beyond their food; but are quite satisfied. The captainship of these *jaleas* is a much sought after and coveted post, because in the many losses caused to our ships, from all parts, by the Dutch, the *jaleas* get the best of the booty: but the worst is that they do not return it to the owners. This applies especially to the ships from China, because of the great value of the salvage, being gold, silks and musk. Neither can it be denied that these *jaleas* save many vessels, and much merchandise; but it is very necessary that they should be in the hands of persons very disinterested and conscientious, a virtue rare among soldiers. The sailors are the chief expense of these *jaleas*, as they carry over fifty, about twenty-three being required to take the oars on either side, besides the two at the helm and stern, the extra men being required to replace those who may fall sick or become fatigued. Each sailor receives one *para*²⁵ of rice, a little over an *alquerie*,²⁶ per month, and a cruzado of four hundred and sixty reis the whole time that they are on board. A *jalea* is the swiftest vessel at sea, being about fifty palms long, and four palms deep, and rowed by forty-six oars. They are of great use in carrying news and relief, and can evade the enemy; so that the more there are the better service

folio 381b.

they may render. Other vessels are sent out from Malacca with advices such as *bantims*,²⁷ very much smaller than *jaleas* the only expense being, as aforesaid, the sailors, and the provisions for the soldiers. The latter, who receive their pay on shore at rare intervals, embark with much good will; because, at times, when they put in at a certain place such as Pera, and other ports, they can earn a quartel²⁸ from the merchants. They are not discharged from the fortress when they thus go to sea, neither do they lose their pay; but, while away from the fortress, they are masters. But for this no soldier would remain in the fortress for the King's pay is very small and the country very dear. Even as it is, it is a source of wonder that any soldiers are found who will remain there.

One thing may be said of the married women of this land which is greatly to their credit; and that is that there is not one who would ask for any help from her husband towards the expenses of the home, which really is their support; for they themselves supply the household money by making eatables which are usually sold in the streets by their slaves, and their houses take the place of inns in the town. Their daughters are brought up from childhood to the same custom, so that there is no girl who has not her own fortune put aside in this way in her father's house; and thus, as in India, girls are not afraid of their husbands not being able to support them; for this reason too persons of much merit are satisfied with a small dowry. This custom has greater effect in this country than in India.

As regards the merchandise in the fortress of Malacca very little is of the country, and the greater part is imported. The chief products of the country are tin, some bezoar stones,²⁹ porcupine quills³⁰ and wild agallochium.³¹ A certain quantity of Japan,³² or red wood, for dyes, of somewhat less value than that of Brazil, is brought from the interior. All the southern commodities and merchandise from China and cloths from Cambay and the Coromandel coast are imported. All the southern tribes were wont to come here to buy in exchange for other merchandise so that the commerce was very extensive, and profits no less; but now it is almost entirely extinct, for never or rarely do any natives come to Malacca to seek anything: having all they require from the Dutch. But nevertheless voyages are still undertaken from Malacca to many parts, China, Manila, and Cochin-China being the principal points of destination and the less important voyages being to Patane. As Siam is now at war, communication with Camboja, Champa and those parts, which would otherwise be very frequent, is interrupted. The ships bear to the South to avoid the windy season which in Malacca is from April to end of August.

The merchandise carried to these places is as follows:—To Patane,³³ stuffs from Cambay and all the Coromandel coast, according to the stuffs in use, as every southern tribe follows a different fashion. From Patane, patacas,³⁴ some gold, good bezoar

stones, rice, meats, vegetables, black cane sugar, oils, all kinds of provisions and the best fowls and capons of all the southern lands.

This kingdom of Patane is governed solely by a woman in accordance with a very ancient custom.³⁵ It is one hundred and fifty leagues from Malacca along the coast and can be reached without encountering the northern monsoon, more especially if the voyage is made in baloons³⁶ (which resemble ships of war being wider but not so long, having oars, two masts and two helms called *camudes*)³⁷ or in Malay galleys (which are smaller than our pancheloids,³⁸ and which are really neither galleys nor baloons, but more closely resemble the latter than the former) and in *bantims* of the size of a *manchua*,³⁹ which are very swift vessels with oars and masts. The last are the vessels most in use along the coast of Malacca; they are manned by Christian Malays of Malacca, who carry their guns and powder flasks.

The King of Camboja, where there is a church and fathers of the Society, is very friendly to the Portuguese. There is here a quantity of very thick angely wood;⁴⁰ and very good benzoin⁴¹ and almond milk⁴² and excellent lac⁴³ are brought in, and a quantity of rice better and cheaper than that of Bengal. The majority of the inhabitants are Japanese and Chinese Christians of bad character who have been expelled from Manila by the Spaniards; and therefore they are the bitterest of our foes. In this kingdom there is an abundance of calambac⁴⁴ and agallochium.³¹ There are two or three ports on the coast of Champa where the Portuguese go to trade taking black cattle from China and some gold thread, which they exchange for black wood much bigger and better than that of Mozambique. There is here a church and Christian Settlement with a father of the Society.

Beyond lies the kingdom of Cochin China and at the entrance to its port is situated an island where the fathers of the Society have a Christian Settlement. It is called Pullo Cambim. Within the said port, too, the same fathers have a church and a Christian Settlement.

Besides this island there are two ports in this kingdom frequented by the Portuguese for commerce. In one resides the King, and the other is called Turan. The Portuguese had a better welcome here than anyone else and quantities of stuffs are brought here. The contract is however now broken through the violence of the Captain of Malacca and only ships from China go there. Some calambac,⁴⁴ an abundance of agallochium,³¹ and a quantity of copper is obtained from the said kingdom, it is carried there by Malays and Japanese.

foliō 385b.

The shortest voyages taken from Malacca are those to Pam, a port eighty leagues from Malacca. It belongs to the aforesaid king, who is very friendly to the Portuguese and is lord also of Jor and the maritime islands. Any ships may come to this port from Malacca without hindrance. They bring stuffs and opium in exchange for gold dust⁴⁵ of the country and gold coin, bezoar

stones, porcupine quills, a quantity of rice, agallochium from the coast, and also some wares which have been brought here by the southern natives who will not go to Malacca. In the same land there are two rivers⁴⁶ belonging to the same king, where the Portuguese go to trade in the same merchandise. Facing this place to the sea lies the small mountainous island of Pulo Timo⁴⁷ thickly populated by Malays. Pigeons are plentiful, and there is a certain kind of animal called palandos,⁴⁸ which resembles a deer and is very good and fat. There are very fine fresh water fish, rivers of excellent water, and an abundance of figs⁴⁹ and tar.⁵⁰ The anchorage close in to land is in 25 fathoms.

Port Jor lies inland from Point Romania. It is once again becoming inhabited,⁵¹ and many galleys and other vessels are being built there. There is an abundance of provisions, agallochium and tar.

On the other side, in the chain of islands called Bintang, lies the town of Bintang, which is once again inhabited. It is thickly populated, and has many fortifications for fear of Achem. This King of Jor and Pam has other inhabited but unimportant islands in this vicinity.

Here close to the Straits of Singapore, is the port of Bulla, thickly populated with Malays and frequented to excess by numbers of merchants from all the southern tribes, who come here to sell their wares, from which the King of Pam receives great profit. They come here rather than go to Malacca because of the great abuses committed by the captains of that fortress, who buy their merchandise at a price much lower than the current price of the country and also compel them to accept their money: a thing which is very usual in all the towns and fortresses of the Portuguese State; and which causes as much misery as the Dutch themselves. To such an extent is the abuse carried that even when Christians come to these ports of Malacca to trade in certain kinds of merchandise the captain seizes their wares, assessing them at a price below their real value and using much abuse: and for this reason some merchants bring their wares to the customs house at night time in order to pay duty to the customs official in secret. All this is the cause of great losses to Malacca.

On the other side of the island on the coast of Sumatra lies the port of Jambi, on a deep and rapid river, which contains a large body of water. The Dutch are much welcomed here and have a factory and a large trade in pepper. Further on, a little distance from this port, towards Malacca, is the large river Andrégy,⁵¹ where the Dutch also procure a quantity of pepper. There are other rivers from which pepper and agallochium are exported, of which no special mention is made because they are unimportant. The port of Siaca,⁵² also inhabited by Malays, is close to the Island of Sabam, which is nearer to Malacca. Here at every new and full moon great fairs are held where all the merchandise of the south is sold, gold, precious stones, bezoar stones, agallochium, calambac,

provisions and many other things. From this port up a river which empties itself opposite Malacca is the Bay of Bencalis,⁵³ in Sumatra on the other side of Malacca where a similar fair is held every full moon, where, besides the aforesaid wares, a quantity of fresh and salt pork is sold, and the roe of shad fish, which they call *trubo*,⁵⁴ great quantities of which are exported from Malacca to all ports. Here in the Bay of Bencalis is the river *das Galles*,⁵⁵ all of which is under the dominion of the King of Pam, who has always been Emperor of the South. The Straits of Singapore, before referred to, is the place where the Dutch lie in wait for the Portuguese ships coming from China, Manila, Macassar, and all the Malucco Archipelago. It has many channels so narrow that in places the branches of the trees on shore touch the ships; and the currents are very strong. The water, though deep, is so clear that the fishes can be seen swimming about in it. Fish is brought by the merchants of the ships from the *Saletes*,⁵⁶ or inhabitants of the Straits, who live in very swift *baloons*⁵⁶ with their families. They catch the fish by spearing them in the water, and then sell them. These *Saletes* are a wicked people and especially so to the Portuguese. They are evil-hearted and treacherous, and the best spies the Dutch possess. Wherever, of the many places in this vicinity, our ships may be, they immediately inform the Dutch and lead them there; so that most of our losses are due to them. This is because the Dutch give a great share of all thus seized. And thus it is very necessary that our fleets of *jaleas*²² and ships that go to these straits to wait for the said fleets should make war as much as possible on these *Saletes*, and drive them from these parts.

The most important voyages undertaken from Malacca are, as beforementioned, those to China, all the southern merchandise being exported there from Malacca, but now nothing but a little pepper is exported and little, if any, cloves; our trade and the rest is in the hands of the Dutch, who are lords of the *Ilhas de Banda*, from whence they drove out the natives; who wander homeless throughout the southern lands, waiting some opportunity of revenge and of regaining their lands. The other exports to China are the same as those which come from India, and as regards Manila what is brought from there has also been already stated. It is a law of Malacca that no boat coming from the region of the said straits, shall pass without putting in at Malacca and paying duties on all the cargo, the rate being ten per cent and further two per cent to the town for the fortification and artillery. And it has happened that some vessels which have passed without putting in at the fortress have been supposed to be lost.

There is communication also between Malacca and Macassar, an island three hundred leagues west of Malacca, belonging to a Moorish King who knows the Portuguese tongue very well, and has many Portuguese in his lands and is very friendly to them. Stuffs only are taken there in exchange for the merchandise brought to the place by the southern tribes. The land yields an

abundance of provisions of tortoise shell, and Malacca receives its chief supplies from it. All parts of the state are in communication with this island. It has churches and fathers who administer the sacraments to the Portuguese residents and visitors. This King has promised not to receive the Dutch in his lands, but he has Danish and English residents. When this king and all his people were heathens, he sent to Malacca for a priest to instruct him in the Christian creed, which he intended to adopt if it pleased him. It is said that there was more delay than there should have been in such an important matter, and that a sailor, a Moor called Lucar, arrived at the country in the meantime and taught his creed to the King, who considered it so good that he immediately adopted it. folio 386b.

From Malacca to Pera is a distance of forty leagues of coast to the east. The King of this place was for many years a vassal of His Majesty and paid in tribute a large quantity of tin. Three years ago he refused the tribute saying that only if His Majesty would deliver him from the King of Achem he would be His Majesty's vassal and pay tribute. He said that the numerous fleets from Achem, which throng these seas, frequently attacked his lands devastating them and taking the people captive. He well knew, he said, how much more important it was to be His Majesty's vassal than to be vassal of the King of Achem. He said that he had no power however to resist the tyrant and his great forces, and that if His Majesty did not supply the means, he himself must seek a remedy in his own kingdom by becoming a vassal of the King of Achem, and paying to him the tribute he formerly paid to His Majesty. In spite of this, he was able to resist our fleet when it was sent chastise him.

There are great tin mines in his kingdom, the metal of which we have already spoken, and thus five or six quintals⁵⁷ of tin are yearly extracted from them. The greater part of it formerly came to Malacca, but now not a third part is sent there. The rest is taken by the Dutch to Achem, and thence they carry it to India with great profit.

The factory possessed by the Captain of Malacca at Pera was one which at one time yielded greater profit than any other. But now it yields nothing, and for this and other reasons the fortress has become so ruined that in the year 1633 no one could be found willing to fill the post of captain; and a captain was appointed and sent by the viceroy.

NOTES.

- A corruption of the Malay words *ujong*, end, and *tanah*, land— 1. Juntana. literally "land's end": it is the name applied to the lower part of the Malay Peninsula. Ujontana or Ujantana are the more common forms in the Portuguese accounts: thus de Barros (in A. D. 1552) writes, "you must know that Ujantana is the most

southerly, and the most easterly point of the main land of the Malacca coast which from this point turns North in the direction of the Kingdom of Siam."

Godinho de Eredia in his *Declaracam de Malacca e India Meridional* invariably wrote it Ujontana, thus VJONTANA—which Janssen, in his French translation has rendered throughout as Viontana. Pinto (A. D. 1614) has Jantana.

Marsden in his "History of Sumatra" (p. 345) writes of the "King of Ojong Tana (formerly of Bintang)" and is obviously referring to the ruler of Johore.

2. Panagim. The map in the M. S. shows this to be the Linggi River—Godinho de Eredia also gives the northern and southern boundaries of Malacca as the Panagim and the Muar Rivers.

3. "Married Whites." The Portuguese "married man" formed a distinct class in Portuguese. There was the governing class, whose duty it was to administer the settlement, the military class whose duty it was to defend it, and the "married man" whose duty—like that of the colonists of early Greece, it was to populate it. The Malacca Portuguese of the present day are the descendents of the married men. Godinho de Eredia says "in the interior of this fortress there are, exclusive of the garrison, three hundred married men with their families."

4. Straw huts: in other words, atap houses.

5. Poisoned weapons were used with considerable success in the defence of Malacca against Albuquerque. The Commentaries after referring to the "blowing tubes with poisoned arrows" (which nowadays are used only by the aborigines) say:—

"Of the men struck by the poisoned arrows on the first day, none escaped but one Fernao Gomez de Lemso, who was burned with a red hot iron directly he was struck so that ultimately God spared his life."

Poisoned chevaux de frise—the Malay *ranjaus*, sharpened stakes stuck point upwards in the ground, are referred to in Albuquerque's account of the fighting on the second day of the defence of Malacca.

6. Candy. A weight used in South India: it varies (as do all weights and measures) in different places, but may be put at 500 pounds.

Yule and Burnell's Glossary contains the following:—

"The word is Mahratta *Khandi*, written in Tamil and Malayalam *Kandi*. The Portuguese write it *Candil*."

Among the passages quoted in the Glossary is this one from van Linschoten (A.D. 1598): "candil is little more or less than 14 bushels wherewith they measure Rice, Corn, and all grain."

Whitaker's Almanack gives among the Indian weights:—1 candy = 500 lb.

7. Jor. Johore. (Although the "papers upon Malay subjects" published by direction of the Federated Malay States Government have adopted the spelling—Johor, I venture to take this opportunity

- of recording that instructions for the adoption of the spelling—Johore—were issued by the Government of the Straits Settlements in Government Gazette Notification No 377 of 1899.)
- Pahang. Pam is the form in which the name is most commonly found. Purchas in His Pilgrimes has variations Paam and Pan. 8. Pam.
- A throwing spear. It would appear that the Portuguese found this word in use in South Africa, and applied it generally throughout the east. (Yule gives its derivation as the Berber word *zaghaya* with the Arabic article prefixed, and adds an interesting list of quotations of its use by early travellers). Godinho de Eredia in his account of the "army" of Malacca also writes of the *assegay*. 9. Assegay,
- The author's equivalent "darts of fire-hardened wood" is correct. 10. Saligas.
- The word is Malay—*seligi*. Malay boys generally make the head of a *seligi* of bamboo, out to a razor-edge in the shape of a spear-head, and use it for spearing *pelandok* and *napu*. In the days when the Malacca Malays used poisoned weapons, a *seligi* was of course as dangerous as any spear.
- Both in Malay and in Javanese, the bow is called *panah*, and the arrow the "bow's child". The use of these weapons, which is unknown to the Malays of the Southern end of the Peninsula, would appear to have been borrowed from the people who thronged there in the days, immediately before its capture by Albuquerque, when it was the meeting place of the trade of the Indian and the Pacific Oceans. 11. Bows and Arrows
- The *sumpitan* (*sumpit*—to blow) is the tube, and not the dart which is known as the "*anak sumpitan*." It is still the principal weapon of the aborigines. 12. Sumpitan
- Godinho de Eredia writes thus of the climate of Malacca:— 13. Climate of Malacca.
- "The air in this region of Malacca is very fresh and very healthy; the opposite of what had been thought by the ancients, notably Aristotle and Ptolemy who affirm that the part of the world between the tropics of Cancer and Capricorn is very hot and burning, and that the atmosphere there is torrid. This land of Ujontana is truly the freshest and the most agreeable in the world. The air there is healthy and vivifying; well suited for keeping the human body in good health, being at the same time hot and moist. Neither the heat nor the humidity are however excessive: for the heat is tempered by, and counteracts the humidity which results from the rains which in this region are frequent throughout the year, especially at the changes of the monsoon."
- This description, doubtless, savours of hyperbole, but as the early Chinese travellers condemned the climate of Malacca as "unwholesome," and as this condemnation is repeated in Whiteway's "Rise of the Portuguese Power in India" (page 5) it is well to record a more favourable opinion.
- The Batu Pahat river was known to the Portuguese as Rio Fermoza. (Crawford's Descriptive Dictionary: Article Malacca). Captain 14. River Fermoza.

Sherard Osborn in a map of the Malay Peninsula in his book "Quedah" (A.D. 1838) shows a Mount Formosa south of Malacca. A Formosa bank is shewn at the mouth of the Batu Pahat river in this Society's map of the Peninsula dated 1898.

15. Boundaries of Malacca. The boundaries are given in their proper order: North, East and South. "The land of the Menancabos" (i. e. Menangkabau men) is Rembau, one of the Negri Sembilan on the North. "Rindo" is the district washed by the Endau river, which flows into the sea on the East coast of the Peninsula, and forms the boundary between Johore and Pahang. Tamungam (i. e. Temenggong) is Johore.
16. Rindo. Endau. *Vide supra.*
17. Tamungam. Johore was governed by a Temenggong subject to the Sultan of Dai, and Pahang was governed by a Bendahara also subject to the Sultan of Dai. The Malay expression is *Baginda di Dai, Temenggong di Johore, Bendahara di Pahang.*
18. Betre. This is the Portuguese form of the word we generally write as betel. The native name (Malayalam) for betel-leaf is vettila (the para or simple leaf).
Garcia de Orta (Goa 1563) writes thus in his colloquies:
"We call it *betre*, because the first land known by the Portuguese was Malabar.....all the names that occur, which are not Portuguese are Malabar, like *betre*."
19. Tin, Tin is mentioned in a Chinese account of Malacca dated A.D. 1416. It is thus translated by Groeneveldt. (Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China. Second Series Vol. I page 244.)
"Tin is found in two places of the mountains, and the king has appointed officers to control the mines. People are sent to wash it, and after it has been melted, it is cast into small blocks weighing one cati eight taels or one cati four taels official weight: ten pieces are bound together with rattan and form a small bundle, whilst forty pieces make a large bundle. In all their trading transactions they use these pieces of tin instead of money."
20. Tigers. A fuller account of the exorcition of these tigers by the bishop is given by Gordinho de Fredia in a chapter of which a translation is given in the appendix.
The tigers of Malacca had long been famous. In the "Ying-yai Sheng Lan" (A.D. 1416) there is mention of a "kind of tiger which assumes a human shape, comes into the town and goes among the people." The commentary gravely adds that "when it recognized it is caught and killed." The Malay superstitious regarding were tigers are too well-known to require repetition here.
21. Cruzado. A silver coin (formerly gold) now equivalent to 480 reis, or about two shillings of English money. It was worth much more relatively in the seventeenth century.
22. Jalea. A kind of galley much used by the Portuguese. It carried a number of fighting men.

There is the following mention of a *jalea* in the *Storia do Mogor* (Vol. I page 370.)

"The king of Arakan.....sent him back to his father with a number of boats called *jalias*, which are small galleys commanded by Portuguese subjects of the said King." The word is connected with "galley" and with "jolly-boat:" see the very interesting article "Gallevat" in Yule and Burnell.

Penang. Lancaster's visit in the "Edward Bonaventure" in 1592 is, I believe, the first recorded landing in Penang, but the present account would make it appear probable that the Portuguese scouting galleys called at the island before his time. May is the month in which the South-West monsoon sets in, bringing the sailing boats from India. In December the North-East monsoon, which brings the Chinese trade down to Singapore, is in full force.

23. Pulo-pinam.

Junk-Ceylon. The corruption of Ujong Salang, (see article Junk-Ceylon in Yule and Burnell). It is now better known as Tongkah. In September or October, the fair weather, along the West coast of the Peninsula, begins with the breaking of the North-East monsoon.

24. Junsalam.

I do not know this word. In the connection in which it is used it does not appear to have anything to do with 'bahar' or 'bhara.'

25. Para.

An *alquerie* is said by Vieyra (quoted in Albuquerque (Hakluyt) Vol. IV, page 88) to be the equivalent of "one peck, three quarts and one pint of English measure."

26. Alquerie.

Godinho de Eredia describes a *bantim* as being a kind of skiff, a smaller vessel than a *jalea*, carrying oars and masts, and rudders on both sides, and as being used for sea-fights. Wilkinson's Dictionary gives *banting* as a native sailing boat with two masts. Crawford leaves it as "a kind of boat." Van Eysinga in his Malay-Dutch dictionary has *bantieng*, soort van boot met twee masten.

27. Bantim.

No book of reference, to which I have access, gives this word.

28. Quartel.

Concretions found in the stomachs of certain animals and supposed to have marvellous antidotal virtues. The Portuguese generally called them *pedra di porco*, but in Borneo they are, I believe, most often found in a species of monkey, and in Pahang in porcupines. Pahang is still famed for its porcupines' bezoar stones.

29. Bezoar stones.

The reference would tend to show that the bezoar stones referred to immediately above were probably those of porcupines.

30. Porcupine quills.

Eagle-wood, or *kayu gharu*: see the article eagle-wood in Yule and Burnell.

31. Agallochi-um.

Sappan-wood or Brazil-wood. See both articles in Yule and Burnell.

32. Japam-wood.

Patani was from its position on the east coast of the peninsula a very important trading centre, and when the East India Company issued instructions to its agent in the east in 1614 (circa)

33. Patani.

[vide an article in Journal No 54,] it selected, as the four principal stations, Surat on the west coast of India, Coromandel on the east coast of India, Bantam in Java, and Patani in the Malay Peninsula. "The command of him at Patani was to stretch over Siam, Cambodia, Cochin-China, Japan and Borneo; and the places thereabouts."

34. Patacas. Water-melons: see the article pataca in Yule and Burnell.
35. Queen of Patani. There are very interesting accounts of the queen of Patani and of the custom of the country in the "Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, East Indies, China and Japan" Volume I.
36. Baloons. Godinho de Eredia has the following account:—
 "The vessels used by the inhabitants of Ujontona are not great. They have *balos*, vessels used for freight, with oars and carrying sails like those of a frigate. The body of the boat is of hard wood, and the frame is made of branches of the *nypeira* palm and of canes laced together to keep out the water. They have one or two masts, and the ropes are made of rattans. The sails are made of a kind of palm known as Pongo. At the stern are two rudders one on each side."
- De la Loubere (Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Siam A. D. 1888) gives a long account of the "balous" of Siam, (page 41) and has four engravings of highly ornamental and elaborately carved barges, with lofty poops and bows, used by the king and by high officials on state occasions. I venture to think that the derivation which Yule and Burnell suggest for for this word in their article "Baloon" is incorrect, and that the probable derivation is from the word *ballam*, or *vallam*, used for dug-out canoes in Ceylon. See Emerson Tennant's Ceylon Vol. II Page 549.
37. Camudes. The Malay word *kamudi*, a rudder.
38. Panchel-loi. I do not know this word.
39. Manchua. Manji is the Malayalam word for a large cargo boat with a single mast and a square sail much used on the Malabar coast. The Portuguese made *manchua* out of the word.
40. Angely. Perhaps another form of the word *agila*, i.e. eagle wood—vide Note 31 supra.
41. Benzoin. Or benjamin: kemennyen; the resin of the *styrasa benzoin*: for a derivation of the word, and an account of the resin, see the article in Yule and Burnell. See also the article in Crawford.
42. Almond Milk. I do not know what this may be.
43. Lac. The resinous incrustation produced on certain trees by their puncture by the lac insect [*coccus lacca*.] For an interesting account of this resin, and of stick-lac, seed-lac, and lacquer, see the article lac in Yule and Burnell.
44. Calambac. Eagle-wood—See the article Calambac in Crawford.
45. Pahang. Gold. The "gold mountains" of Pahang, i.e., the land in Ulu Pahang, are mentioned in the history of the ming dynasty. (Vide Groeneveldt p. 256.)

- The two rivers are probably the Rompin on the South, and the Kuantan on the North. 46. Pahang Rivers.
- Pulau Tioman, off the Pahang Coast. It belongs to the State of Pahang. 47. Pulo Timao.
- Pelandok; the mouse-deer, or chevrotain (*tragulus javanicus*.) 48. Palando.
- Plantains or bananas (*musa paradisaica*) "the fig of Paradise" or sometimes "the apple of Paradise." The Portuguese always called the plantain "the Indian fig," and in the West Indies the common small variety of plantain is still called a fig. 49. Figs.
- i.e., damar. 50. Tar.
- Johore was repeatedly ravaged by the Achinese during their successive attacks upon Malacca, of which the last took place in A.D. 1628, when the Achinese fleet was practically annihilated in Malacca harbour by the Portuguese. 51. Johore.
- An insight into the meaning of de Resende's grim expression that Johore was "once again becoming inhabited" is afforded in Marsden's History of Sumatra (p. 364) where there is the following passage regarding the King of Acheen.
- "The disposition of this monarch was cruel and sanguinary..... The whole territory of Acheen was almost depopulated by wars, executions and oppression. The King endeavoured to repeople the country by his conquests. Having ravaged the Kingdoms of Johor, Paham, Queda, Pera and Delhy, he transported the inhabitants from those places to Acheen to the number of twenty two thousand persons. But this barbarous policy did not produce the effect he hoped; for the unhappy people being brought naked to his dominions and not allowed any kind of maintenance on their arrival, died of hunger in the streets."
- Indragiri. 52. Andregy.
- Siak. 53. Siaca.
- I am afraid that I cannot follow this account. The Siak river empties itself into the Straits opposite Bencalis Island. It is difficult to understand what the other river is (unless it is the Kampar) and what island Sabam is. 54. Bencalis.
- The *terubok fish*: *clupea kanagurta*. This excellent fish, which is like a herring in taste, is common on the Kedah coast, but practically unknown in the Penang market. The dried roes are however commonly used throughout the Straits as a *sambal* with curry. For a full account of the fish and of the industry connected with its capture, see Crawford (article Trubo) where several references to early travellers are given. 55. Trubo.
- I cannot indentify this river. 56. das Galles.
- These are the celebrated "orang laut," or "Sea-Sakies" of the Malay Peninsula, of whom the boys that dive off the mail steamers at Tanjong Pagar are the descendants. A few still survive at Jugra, in Selangor, and in places along the Pahang coast. There are considerable numbers of them along the coast near, and north of Tongkah. 57. Saletes.

Godinho de Eredia gives this account of them: "Before the founding of the town of Malacca, the place was inhabited by Saletes, a race of fishermen, who settled themselves under the shade of the Malacca trees there. They used pointed javelins called Saligi and pursued fishes with such address that they could transfix fishes in the depths of the sea, and they used no other weapon. They were a wild, cannibal race."

Most of the early travellers have interesting accounts of this extraordinary people. See the article "orang-laut" in Crawford.

Saletes is the Portuguese name for these people. It is a corruption of "orang selat," selat being a Strait, and used then, as now, with particular reference to the Straits of Singapore.

58. Quintal. In the Metric system, a quintal (or cental) is one hundred kilograms, and according to Whitaker's Almanack the equivalent of 1.968 cwt. In old tables of weights and measures, a quintal, or cental, Avoudupois, is shewn as being a hundred pounds.

The following is a table of weights:

1 quintal	=	4 arrabas
1 arrabo	=	32 arratels
1 arratel	=	2 marcos
1 marco	=	8 oncas.

APPENDIX.

A translation of Chapters I. and XV. of Gardinho de Eredia's
"Declaracam de Malaca."

Regarding the City of Malacca.

Malacca is a word which means Mirobolan or Monbain, the fruit of a tree which grows on the banks of the Aerlele, (Ayer Leleh), a stream which flows from the slopes of Bukit China to the sea, on the coast of Ujontana. It was on the banks of this stream, on the South East side, that Permicuri, the first monarch of the Malays, founded the town of Malacca, which to-day is so well-known throughout the world.

It is situated in 2. 12' of north latitude, in the torrid zone; and the longest day consists of 12 hours 6 minutes. Ptolemy makes no mention of Malacca, which is modern and was given to it by the monarch above mentioned, who founded the town, in the year 1411, in the time of Pope John XXIV. when King John II. reigned in Castille and King John I. in Portugal.

Before the founding of Malacca, the Saletes, a tribe of fishermen, congregated in this place, in the shade of the trees which bear the mirobolans. These fishermen used pointed javelins called "soliques," i.e. seligi, and threw them with such skill that they could transfix fishes at the bottom of the sea. They employed no other implements of fishing. They were inhabitants of the coast of Ujontana, in the southern sea, and a wild and cannibal race.

An old and very narrow isthmus started from the point of Tanjon-Tuan, now called Caborachado (Cape Rachado) and crossed to meet another point called Tanjon-Balvala, on the coast of Samatta, or, by corruption, Samattra (Sumatra).

It was by this isthmus, which extended between two seas, one lying on the North and the other on the South, that the natives from the main land of Ujontana crossed over to Samatta.

This name of Samatta means Peninsula, or Chersonese; and it is this peninsula that Ptolemy mentions under the name of the Golden Chersonese. We shall have occasion to return to this further on.

Permicuri chose this place because he considered it capable of being placed in a state of defence. This monarch had to protect himself from the ruler of Pam (Pahang), a territory in the interior of Ujontana.

This ruler made occasional armed attacks upon Permicuri, for he sought vengeance for an act of treachery, of which Permicuri had been guilty towards a relative of his, the "Xabandes" (Shahbandar) of Singapore, whom Permicuri had assassinated in spite of the proofs of friendship he had received from him; at the time when Permicuri pursued by his father-in-law, the old Emperor of Java, had sought a refuge in Singapore.

Permicuri therefore fortified himself on the crest of the hill, in a strong position where he was free from the fear of being taken by his enemy. He evinced great energy and zeal in enlarging his territory, which he extended beyond the river Aerlele; and he developed his new State by encouraging commerce and traffic with the surrounding tribes, who all came to Malacca to fish for the "Saveis", a kind of shad, whose eggs placed in brine formed a much sought-after dish. Later, when the port had become frequented, the merchants of Coromandel, chiefly the Chelis (Chulia i.e. Klings) came over with stuffs and clothing; and they thus attracted thither the inhabitants of the surrounding islands, who helped to populate and to bring custom to the port, by bringing merchandise and exchanging their gold and spices for the stuffs of Coromandel.

This is the origin of the wealth of Malacca, which became one of the richest and most opulent States in the world. At this period the natives were possessed of much ingot gold, and the prosperity of the country continued under the reign of Permicuri's successors who were Xaquemdarxa, (Iskandar Shah) the Sultan Medafarxa, the Sultan Marsusel, the Sultan Alaudim (Ala-ed-Din) and lastly the Sultan Mohameth (Mahmud) who was conquered by Afonso d'Albuquerque, who captured the whole country, a little more than a hundred years after its foundation, on the 15th of August, 1511.

After conquering Malacca, the invincible Captain constructed a stone fortress at the foot of the hill on the sea-shore, to the South-East of the mouth of the river, where the Sultan Mohameth had built the palaces where he had kept the treasures with which he

escaped after crossing the river, and taking refuge in the interior of the country. Mohameth, after passing through the country of Pam, intrenched himself at Bentam, whence he proposed to make expeditions against Malacca. But Albuquerque had by this time finished the work of fortification of this town; his commanding position, his artillery and his powerful garrison made him the terror of the Malays and always maintained the authority and honour of the Crown of Portugal. Malacca was victorious in repelling numerous attacks by Malay Kings and other neighbouring rulers.

The fortress forms a square each side of which measures 20 yards, it is 80 yards high (*sic*), and is protected on the east by walls built of stone and plaster; and in the interior there is a spring of water. In time of war or disturbance the inhabitants can be given shelter and provision there. The castle, or the tower, is as high as the hills. It was not built on the hill because it was preferable to place it lower down, in the sea itself, to ensure re-victualling in case of war. When this had been done, wooden walls were erected around the groups of Malay dwellings.

Two walls, built of stone covered with plaster, started from the angle formed by the sea to the west in two lines: they followed the shore and turned at right angles when they reached the height of the ground where the hospitals and the Brotherhood of Mercy were built; and thence the two lines turned, the one to the North for a distance of 260 yards as far as the angle of the rampart of St. Peter, at the mouth of the river opposite the castle, and the other to the East for a distance of 150 yards at the turn of the coast by the gate and rampart of St. James. Another wall, which was built at the same time, extended from the rampart of St. Peter as far as the gateway of the Alfandega, and thence, for a distance of 300 yards, followed the river to the North East as far as the acute angle formed by the rampart of St. Dominic. From the gateway here, a wooden wall extended to the South East, for a distance of 200 yards, to the obtuse angle at the end of the Avenue of the Mother of God. Another wooden wall extended from the gateway of St. Anthony for a distance of 200 yards towards the South East beyond the rampart of the Virgins as far as another gateway on the rampart St. James. The total length of the walls was thus 1310 yards of five palms to the yard. In later days the architect in chief, Joao Baptista, by order of the King, prepared amended plans of the fortress. He made a new and enlarged plan of the walls in the South and in the waste land which stretches from the rampart of St. James to that of St. Dominic. His idea was to build new walls of stone and plaster instead of the wooden palisades, but his project was never carried out. Although there were four gateways pierced in the walls, two only, that of the Alfandega and that of St. Anthony, were generally used, and were open for ordinary traffic. In the interior of the enclosed area are the Castle, the Governor's Palace, the Bishop's Palace, the State Council Hall, the Hall of the Brotherhood of Mercy, five Churches,

ches—our Lady of the Assumption, the Cathedral with the chapter and episcopal throne, our Lady of the Visitation and of Mercy, our Lady of the Annuciation (in the College of the Company of Jesus, at the very crest of the hill), the Church of St. Dominic in the Convent of the Dominicans and the Church of St. Anthony in the Convent St. Augustine—and two hospitals.

Outside the walls are three suburbs, the first is that of Upe (Upeh) on the other side of the river; the second is that of Yler (Hilir) on Tanjonpacer (Tanjong Pasir) on this side of the river; the third, that of Sabba, lies along the bank of the river. Of these three, the principal one is Upe. It is also called the "Tranqueira" or the "Palisade," because of the palisade, or wooden wall, which has been built there parallel with the bank. It is 1400 yards from the mouth of the river. From its extremity a wooden wall extends 120 yards to the East towards the gate of the palisade as far as the "Wooden Cavalier." Thence, following an obtuse angle, another wooden wall stretches across the marshy and muddy ground of the interior, as far as the gate of Campon China which touches the river. In this way, the suburb of Upe, with its country houses and gardens, is well protected from the attacks of the "Saletes." Nevertheless, when preparations are being made for war, this suburb is entirely depopulated and dismantled, its whole population taking refuge in the castle within the walls.

This suburb is divided into two parishes; St. Thomas and St. Stephen. The parish of St. Thomas is called Campon Chelim (Kampong Kling); it stretches along the bank of the river, from the Javanese Bazaar towards the North West and ends at the stone rampart. In this part live the Chelis of Coromandel who must be the "Chalinges" of which Pliny writes in Chapter XVII. of Book VI.

The other parish, St. Stephen, is called Campon China and stretches from the strand of the Javanese Bazaar, for a distance of 800 yards, along the river side to the wooden wall of the palisade at the mouth of the river, and extends, beyond the swampy part of the river, to the plantations of Nypeiras (Nipahs) and of "Brava" palms which grow beside on the brook called "Parit China." In this part of Campon China live the "Chincheos" descendants of the "Tocharos" of Pliny, foreign merchants and natives occupied in fishing. The two parishes of St. Thomas and St. Stephen contain 2500 Christians, men, women, and children, beside the other heathen inhabitants. The houses are all built of timber and are covered with tiles to preserve them from the risk of fire. Stone buildings are, for reasons of defence in case of war, not allowed. At the mouth of the river, on the terrace of the Alfandega, there is a stone bridge on which a sentry mounts guard at night. On the bank, at the place called the Javanese Bazaar, at the entrance to the river, are sold the victuals, rice and grain which the Javanese merchants bring daily in their sailing boats.

The second suburb, that of Yler, is situated on the other side of the river towards the South East, and through it wooden huts covered with thatch (atap) extend for a distance of 1200 yards from the river Aerlele towards the fields of Tanjonpacer, when there is a "banjacal" or guard-house which is its only defence. In this suburb there is a parish Church dedicated to our Lady of Pity, which serves a parish of 1300 Christians, without counting the heathen.

From the Aerlele river, or stream, another row of wooden dwellings stretches eastward for 1000 yards as far as the well of Bukit China, which supplies excellent water springing from the foot of the hill, on whose summit rises the Church of the Mother of God and the Convent of the Capuchins of St. Francisco.

Further to the North there is another hill called Bukit Piatto, and all round there are fields and swamps as far as Bukit Pipi, and Tanjonpacer to the South East and South.

The last suburb, that of Suppa, extends from the moat of the rampart St. Dominic. Its houses are made of wood and built on piles, right in the middle of the water. This ground, being swampy and damp, is well suited to the calling of the fishermen who live in this suburb; they tie up their boats and fishing nets along side their houses, and float in the water the timber and forest produce of the interior of the country in which they deal. In this suburb is the parish Church of St. Laurence which serves a population of 1400 Christians and other very numerous natives who live in the swampy ground where the "Nypeiras" or "Brava" palms, from which they distil the nypa wine, grow. Besides these three parishes *extra muros* there are three parishes in the interior of the country; St. Lazarus, Our Lady of Guadeloupe, and Our Lady of Hope. They are situated on the bank of the river and contain a population of 2200 Christians and heathen natives or vassals who live inland in farms where they raise cattle and farmyard animals. In the eight parishes alone in the jurisdiction of Malacca the Christian population reaches 7400 souls, without counting the heathen and the vassal natives.

The State is administrated by a Governor elected for three years, by a bishop and by other dignitaries of the episcopal see assisted by City Magistrates organised in the same manner as the Tribunal of Evora of the Fathers of Mercy, and by royal delegates for the financial and judicial departments.

The State further supports mendicant orders, a Convent of the Company of Jesus with its schools and colleges, the convents of the order of St. Dominic and of St. Augustine, capuchin monks of St. Francis, and ministers of the Christian religion. Inside the fortress live, besides the garrison for its defence, 300 married Portuguese with their families. There are in all four religious houses, eight parishes, fourteen churches, two chapels of the Hospitalers, and some hermitages and oratories.

Regarding Gunoledam (Gunong Ledang, or Mount Ophir.)

The mountain of Gunoledam, like Mount Atlas, where sybiline caves are found, is a high mountain. It is half a league in height, and a little more than a league in circumference at its base: it is quite isolated. If one believes a story, which is widely spread among the Malays, the queen Putry, the companion of Permicuri, who founded Malacca, retired to this mountain, and, by enchantment (for by magic she became immortal) lives there still. Her home is on the heights of the mountain in a cave, where she lies on a raised bed which is decorated with the bones of dead men. She is clad in silk and gold, and looks like a lovely young girl. Round this cave are planted thick rows of bamboos, in which one hears harmonious voices and sounds of music. It is something like this that Marco Polo describes when he writes in the 44th chapter of this first book of the music of dulcimers which was heard in the desert of Job.

At a certain distance from the cave and the bamboos are groves of fruit trees full of delicate fruit and singing birds, and not far from them are the forests where roam the tigers who guard this enchanted Putry, this new Circe of Thessaly.

This story is probably not true, but the natives firmly believe in it. They further assert that on this mountain is a cave like that of the Pythians and the Sibyls, and that the forest-dwelling Benuas here learn their magic arts and hold intercourse with the devil. Here, without seeing any one, they hear mysterious voices which reveal to them not only the qualities of plants and of miraculous and medicinal herbs, but the art of preparing medicines, both beneficial and harmful. In order to get this information, the Benuas employ a herb called *Erba vilca*, which is found on Gunoledam as well as in America. By drinking a decoction of this herb, they put themselves in communication with the devil or with Putry, who like the Thessalian witch Erichtho, and like the enchantress Circe, takes the form of animals and hides.

These forest-dwelling Benuas in the same manner, and by means of the same practices and words would take the forms of tigers, lizards, crocodiles or other animals. They then had supernatural power, and could hold conversation with people in remote places, like the sorceress of Tuscany, who could show to those who consulted her things that were happening at a distance.

While speaking of this subject, I ought to make mention of the first bishop of Malacca, Dom Georges de Santa Lucia, whose merits should be always exalted. He wished to put an end to the harm caused to the country by these forest-dwelling Benuas, who in the shape of tigers used to enter the town of Malacca, and kill unresisting women and children.

He wished to excommunicate them and had public prayers made in the cathedral. Then, at issue of the Grand Mass and after the procession of the feast of the assumption of our lady, the pro-

tectress of the fortress, he solemnly excommunicated these tigers. Since then they have never entered a village, nor killed a man, woman or child. For this Christians gave thanks to God. This miracle astounded the natives and as a result, many of them and many Cheli (Kling) idolators were converted in 1560.